GROUP EFFECTIVENESS RESEARCH LABORATORY

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

URBANA, ILLINOIS

Quarterly Report

July 31, 1967

Communication, Cooperation, and Negotiation

In Culturally Heterogeneous Groups

DDC

SEP 6 1967

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Principal Investigators

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This project seeks to identify culturally critical concepts and
behaviors which are likely to affect interpersonal relations and task
performance in culturally heterogeneous groups. Work under this project
is now in its fourth year. In this time Subproject I (Triandis) developed
several techniques for identifying cultural differences in interpersonal
behaviors. These include the Role Differential and the Behavioral
Differential by Triandis, and Semantic Feature analysis by Osgood. These
three techniques measure the ways individuals from different cultures
perceive and interpret interpersonal behaviors. This information is then
incorporated into culture training programs.

Subproject II (Stolurow) has developed a programmed self-instruc-
tional training system (the Culture Assimilator), which has been utilized
successfully in a number of laboratory and field investigations.

Subproject III (Fiedler) has continued work on a theory of leader-
ship effectiveness (the Contingency Model), a theory which now enables
us to predict group and organizational performance and which provides a
rationale for modifying the group structure, the task, and group composi-
tion to increase performance in heterocultural situations.

In addition to numerous laboratory and methodological studies
(see list of technical reports) we are currently conducting field research
in Greece, Iran and Honduras, and have completed field research in Belgium
and Greece.

Dr. Stolurow moved to the Harvard Computing Center last September and Subproject II has been administratively absorbed by Subprojects I and III. (Research related to this subproject is not reported in detail here, although it is being continued under the supervision of Fiedler and Triandis in consultation with Stolurow.)

Professors Triandis and Fiedler have been invited to present reports of our research at the forthcoming NATO conference on "Manpower Research and the Defence Context," London, August 14 to August 18, 1967. The session devoted to our research program will be chaired by Dr. Luigi Petrullo, Director of the Psychological Sciences Division of the Office of Naval Research. Professor Pieter Drenth of the Free University of Amsterdam, and Dr. Urgiste Bouvier, the director of the Center for Social Studies of the Belgian Ministry of Defense have agreed to serve as discussants.

SUBPROJECT I

1. The current focus of Subproject I is on the integration of the findings of the last four years and their utilization in culture assimilators. This integration is now under way with the Greek data. A draft of an essay on Greek national character is now available. Triandis is in Greece working with Vasriliou on a version of this draft. This essay can become the basis for a Greek culture assimilator if the political conditions in that country allow the continuation of our research program in Athens. The decision on whether to continue will be taken in August, after discussions with American and Greek collaborators in Athens in July and August.

2. An exploration of cognitive reorganization associated with culture assimilator training is under way by Triandis and Summers in connection with the Honduras project. The data are now being collected.

3. The work mentioned in the previous quarterly report (pp. 6-9) is being continued. The Oncken study (p. 6) is being tabulated and will be analyzed soon. The Summers, Stewart, and Oncken study (p. 7) has been analyzed. In the Summers et al. study, a foreign policy decision-making task was given to American and Arab dyads. Ss were paired so as to assess the effects of (a) cultural homogeneity (American-American) vs. heterogeneity (Arab-American), and (b) cognitive similarity (same beliefs regarding American foreign policy) vs. cognitive dissimilarity (opposed beliefs) upon conflict resolution. The major results from a total of 56 pairs of Ss can be summarized as follows:

a. Cognitive similarity vs. dissimilarity was a significant
    determinant of both conflict and subsequent compromise;
    i.e., dissimilar pairs experienced more conflict and
    compromised more than did the similar pairs. (Who, of
    course, did not need to compromise to the same extent.)

b. In the heterocultural dyads, Arabs compromised significantly
    less than did their American counterparts only when the
    Ss held similar beliefs; when the Americans and the Arabs
    held widely discrepant beliefs, there was no difference
    between Arab and American compromise.

c. The Arabs and the Americans paired with other Americans
    responded to initial differences in judgment (conflict) in
    the same way; i.e., their compromise was a positive function
    of initial differences. Moreover, these Ss tended to com-
    promise a constant proportion of the distance separating
    their judgments from those of the other participant. In
    contrast, the Americans paired with Arabs responded to
    conflict in a markedly different way. These Ss tended not
    to compromise a constant proportion of the distance separat-
    ing initial judgments. Rather, the proportional compromise
    varied as a function of the initial difference in judgments;
    furthermore, this function was negative.

d. Belief change (regarding foreign policy) was apparently
    mediated by public compromise in the conflict situation.
    In all conditions, compromise is highly correlated with

subsequent belief change. The implications of these
findings for heterocultural negotiation will be dealt
with in a technical report which is now in preparation.

4. The Antecedent/Consequent study of cultural influences on
cognition has now been analyzed. The design of this study and some of
the major results obtained are summarized below.

Twenty abstract concepts (e.g., ANGER, WEALTH) were the starting
point of the study. In Phase I, $\underline{S}$s in four cultures (America, Greece, India,
and Japan) filled in sentences of the form "If you have..., then you have
ANGER." Such sentences provided the antecedents of ANGER, as given by
four cultures. The $\underline{S}$s also filled in sentences of the form "If you have
ANGER, then you have..." These sentences provided the consequents of ANGER.

In Phase II, a questionnaire was administered to 360 $\underline{S}$s in each
of the four cultures. The questionnaire items had the basic format of
the two kinds of sentences mentioned above, but in this phase the $\underline{S}$s gave
their answers by chosing from a list of five antecedents (or consequents)
the one which they considered "to fit best." The five antecedents (or
consequents) for each item were chosen by the investigators so that one was
culture common (i.e., in Phase I it had a high frequency in only one
culture). Each of the 20 concepts was paired with 30 antecedents and 30
consequents. The orders, contexts, etc., of the items and the antecedent
or consequent elements were counterbalanced.

The output of these data consists of the frequencies of choice of
the 30 antecedents to each of the 20 concepts. There are 600 frequencies
in each of four cultures, or a total of 2400 frequencies for the anteced-
ents; similarly, 2400 frequencies are associated with the consequents of

the 20 concepts. The analysis considers whether in each culture a particular frequency is abnormally high (as determined by chi-square, at the $p > .01$ level) or abnormally low (again at the $p > .01$ level). We then prepare 40 tables (20 concepts times 2, one for antecedents and one for consequents) such as the one reproduced in Table 1.

Our results show a very large number of significant differences. With regard to "Anger" (for example), 18 of the 30 antecedents given by American Ss are either too high or too low (Table 1). Thus, these Ss had a very definite idea of "what goes-with what," at least with respect to "anger." Of particular interest are instances when the antecedents or consequents are abnormally high in one or more cultures and abnormally low in some other culture. Such a complete reversal is most unlikely to be due to chance (it has a probability of being a chance finding of only .0001). For example, in Table 1, the antecedent nickname is seen to lead to ANGER in India and in Greece (though it does not reach the $p > .01$ level), and it is seen not to lead to ANGER in America and Japan. The explanation, upon checking with our foreign colleagues, is that nicknames tend to be derogatory in Greece and India and complimentary in America and Japan. The typical nickname in Greece is some animal name, such as frog, owl, or capon, to describe someone who is too short, or too fat. Such nicknames may well lead to ANGER. Americans usually use endearing nicknames, and the Japanese use them only among very close friends.

Several other interesting findings can be seen in the Table. For example, betrayal leads to ANGER in America and Japan, but not in India. Could it be that in cultures where the ingroup is large, betrayal

Table 1: The Abnormally high and abnormally low antecedents of ANGER in four cultures.

	America	Greece	India	Japan
High:	bad temper		bad temper	betrayal
	betrayal			contempt
	contempt			hate
	hate	injustice		injustice
	injustice	insult		insult
	insult	jealousy	quarrel	jealousy
	jealousy	quarrel		
	quarrel	no patience		
		ridicule	enemies	
			nickname	
			revenge	dissatisfaction
				lie
Low:	bad manners		bad manners	failure
	failure			fear
	fear	fear		
	guilt	guilt		
	ignorance	ignorance	lie	nickname
	lie			scolding
	nickname			weakness
	uneasiness			disobedience
	scolding	disobedience	betrayal	
	weakness	enemies	contempt	madness
		madness	dissatisfaction	
			injustice	
			jealousy	love
			love	disappointment

occurs rarely and, hence, it is a source of ANGER, while in cultures
with narrow ingroups it occurs frequently and people adapt to it?

Contempt is linked with ANGER in America and Japan, but not in
India. A similar pattern occurs with injustice and jealously. Could
it be that the unusually unfavorable economic conditions of the low
status Indians has led to an adaptation to injustice and contempt, and
this has become a cultural norm that has reached even our middle-class
Ss? Dissatisfaction leads to ANGER in Japan, but does not in India. (Could
it be that the Indians have adapted to "dissatisfaction"?)

A lie leads to ANGER in Japan, but not in America and India. Is
this a case where the concept of a "white lie" does not exist in Japan
but is strong in the other two countries?

It is clear that there is much more work to be done before we can
publish this method. Now that we have discovered a large number of
cultural differences, we must explore the reasons. Interpretation
requires discussion of the results. It is hoped that all co-investigators
of this project will be at the Tehran meetings in August and that we will be
able to review our findings and arrive at useful interpretations.

5. Osgood's method of semantic feature analysis has been applied
'n a preliminary experiment of small group behavior. The method requires
the individual to say whether a sentence, such as "The father pleads
with his son," is appropriate, neutral, or inappropriate. The test
involves all combinations of verb and adverb phrases with 30 verbs
and 30 adverbs. The subjects of this experiment were classified on the
basis of semantic feature analysis and then assembled into twelve
three-person groups. Four of these groups contained individuals similar

in the semantic feature patterns; four groups contained persons with different patterns, four groups ("odd man") contained two persons who were similar and one who differed from his fellow group members.

Professor Kenneth Forster has come from Australia for the purpose of working on Osgood's semantic feature analysis method, and by the end of summer it is expected that a report on feature analyses will be available.

Osgood and Ayer have developed an experimental procedure called a "semantic word game" which requires the team to place 30 interpersonal adverbs on a target of ten concentric circles so that semantically similar words are placed near one another and opposite to words whose meanings they consider opposite. The results of the preliminary study have been highly encouraging by showing that "similar" groups perform most effectively and with least conflict while the "odd man" groups performed least well and had most interpersonal conflict. Further work with this method is planned for fall. If successful, the "semantic word game" would have far-reaching implications by providing a standardized laboratory task for heteroculturally composed groups under varying leadership and different types of culture training.

SUBPROJECT III

The main effort of this subproject during the current report quarter has been devoted to the preparation of two major field studies. These studies, one in Iran and one in Honduras, involve the construction of Culture Assimilators, as well as the analysis of previously obtained data for the purpose of designing more effective training programs. In addition, work of this subproject led to the submission of two journal articles, and data collection and analyses (still in progress) of two laboratory studies. We are hoping to obtain permission to conduct a third field study in Thailand in cooperation with the ARPA field unit located in Bangkok.

1. A methodological study by Fishbein, Landy, and Hatch (Technical Report 52(67-8) explored two assumptions of the Contingecny Model. These assumptions are (a) that different group-task situations require a different leader-group member interaction and (b) that these demands will covary systematically with the three dimensions of the group-task situation specified by the Contingency Model. The study utilized 141 male under-graduates who described the way the most effective leader would behave in each of eight different group-task situations. The ratings were influenced primarily by two of the three dimensions postulated by the Contingency Model, namely, the leader-member relations and the position power dimension. The study thus provides partial support for the Contingency Model.

2. A study was conducted by Ninane and Fiedler in 1964 at the European School of the Common Market Nations in Brussels. This experiment investigated the effects of group failure on the reactions of the individual member of culturally homogeneous and heterogeneous groups, and has been written up as Technical Report 51(67-7) and submitted for publication.

3. Martin Chemers and Arlene Chemers have completed a Culture Assimilator for Iran, and an investigation of its effectiveness is in its initial stages. Chemers and Professor W. K. Archer, the Director of the Tehran Research Unit, are obtaining Iranian subjects with the cooperation of the Iran-America Society. They hope to obtain American subjects from among State Department and American business personnel stationed in iran.

4. Because the Culture Assimilator programs appear to be especially effective as training devices or improving interpersonal relations between representatives of different cultures, and because of their potential usefulness to the armed forces, we are conducting a number of methodological studies to refine and improve these programs. A technical report is in preparation in which we shall present a preliminary rationale and description of procedures for constructing a Culture Assimilator program. This report should be useful to other workers in the field, although we are not yet at the stage where a manual can be written for the wholesale preparation of these training programs. A report is being drafted by Marvi Vidmar in collaboration with L. M. Stolurow. Subsequent reports are planned which will give detailed instructions for preparing Culture Assimilators.

5. A methodological study is now under way in the context of a field investigation in Honduras. The study compares different forms of the Culture Assimilator to determine the most effective method for presenting culturally relevant material. Because we have obtained some evidence that negatively slanted episodes may be anxiety-producing, we have constructed three types of Assimilators. Specifically, one version

of the program consists of episod... and incidents in which an American
experiences <u>successful</u> intercultural relations. A second version consists
of "negative" episodes in which an American experiences <u>unsuccessful</u>
intercultural relations. The third version consists of <u>both</u> types of
episodes. The task performance and interpersonal relations of <u>S</u>s trained
with these three programs will be compared with a control group receiving
no culture training.

The current Honduran study is financed in part by the Office
of the Surgeon General and in part by the ARPA contract. Funds for
travel and work abroad were provided by a grant of the Foundations
Fund for Research in Psychiatry.

6. A study conducted in Honduras last summer provided a large
amount of data on the effects of a stressful intercultural environment
on performance and adjustment of teams under different leadership. The
data for this study have been subjected to further analysis.to determine
the factors which produce good leader-member relations in intercultural
environments and the effect of stress on task performance.

7. An experiment was conducted by Judith Goodrich Ayer at the
Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul, Illinois. The study was carried out
in the context of an instructor training program. During one session of
this program, the instructor was suddenly placed under experimentally
induced stress by having the officer in charge come into the room, and
make either encouraging, or disapproving gestures. All sessions were
tape recorded, and an analysis of the tapes is now in progress. It is
hoped that this study will throw light on the effect of stress on leader-
ship behavior of task-oriented and relationship-oriented individuals.

This study is an experimental sequel to studies conducted by Meuwese and Fiedler (1964) and by Fiedler (1966) in the Belgian navy.

8. In view of the important role the Group Atmosphere variable has played in our research, we are conducing a number of laboratory experiments to determine some of the factors underlying variations in group atmosphere. Also under consideration are the affects of different task structures on leadership performance. One such study is now being conducted by Gordon O'Brien and Daniel Ilgen. Groups are given different task structures (e.g., tasks which must be carried out simultaneously versus tasks which need to be carried out sequentially). Data collection on 72 groups are now being analyzed.

PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL
(Contract Nonr 1834(36)

Personnel Supported by Contract

Ayer (Goodrich), Judith	Research Assistant	25%
Biglan, Tony	Research Assistant	50%
Dachler, Hans	Research Assistant	50%
Hornik, John	Research Assistant	50%
Ilgen, Daniel	Research Assistant	50%
Kilty, Keith	Research Assistant	hourly
Martin, Meredith	Research Assistant	50%
McGuire, Howard	Research Assistant	hourly
O'Brien, Gordon	Assistant Professor	67%
Oncken, Jerry	Research Assistant	50%
Stewart, Thomas	Research Assistant	50%
Summers, David	Assistant Professor	67%
Symonds, John	Research Assistant	50%

Nonsalaried Personnel Working on ARPA Project or Related Research

Bates, Peter	NSF Fellow
Chemers, Martin	NSF Fellow
Fiedler, Fred	Professor
Fishbein, Martin	Associate Professor
Osgood, Charles	Professor
Nealey, Stanley	Assistant Professor
Stolurow, Lawrence	Professor
Triandis, Harry	Professor
Wilkins, Marilyn	Postdoctoral Research Fellow

Foreign Consultants

Archer, W.	Tehran
Parisi, D.	Italy
Vassiliou, V.	Greece
(M. Nassiakou)	
(M. Diamandopola)	

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